

ACTAS DEL II CONGRESO IBERO-ASIÁTICO DE HISPANISTAS (KIOTO, 2013)

Shoji Bando y Mariela Insúa (eds.)



GEORGE BORROW'S ACCOUNT ON BASQUE(S)

Daniel de Zubía Fernández
National University of Ireland Maynooth

No se atuvo a la realidad de la 'guía oficial'.
Lo que le importaba era el carácter de los
hombres, y no de todos, sino los de la clase
popular, donde los rasgos nacionales se con-
servan más puros.

Manuel Azaña¹

The aim of this essay is to analyse the chapter dedicated to the Basque Country in *The Bible in Spain*, the travel book by George Borrow. The initial focus is to illustrate the background of Spain at the time. For both Spain and Portugal, the nineteenth century is an intense period in historic terms, decisive to understand what the future was due to deliver in the coming century. As explained by Santos², the two Iberian states remained as peripheral powers, away from the European centre, which is essential to understand the relevance of the nineteenth century in the process of determining this peripheral position of these two countries as premodern societies³. In essence, this was the time when a crucial number of critical moments and experiences were lived through in both countries; and, these were some of the very ones that did not allow the Peninsula to

¹ Azaña, 1970, p. 22.

² Santos, 2011.

³ Álvarez Junco, 2002.

evolve parallel or closer to their European neighbours, as reported in some books by some of the many European travellers touring along Portugal and Spain. One of these travellers was the British voyager and writer George Borrow (1803–1881). As recounted in *The Bible in Spain* (1843), his journey allowed him to display a distinctive account of his ventures and experiences along the Roman Catholic Spain; being this the time when Spain split between the liberals and the carlists, and those who did not come along with these two. During Borrow's time in Spain, since Queen Isabel II was under age, her mother María Cristina de Borbón-Dos Sicilias was the Queen Regent Cristina (1833–1840), backed by the moderate liberal bourgeoisie⁴. Being this disparity essential in the official battleground and the basis of the shift between two conceptions of the Spanish society, at the eyes of Borrow this difference was not that noticeable. Thus, Spain could be defined as a premodern land, the one where some Spanish people could not «captar las virtudes humanas del mundo preindustrial en que vivían, porque, precisamente, estaban intentando escapar de él y caminaban, por así decirlo, con anteojeras»⁵ as determined by Goytisolo. This limited scope was determining that Spain and was the setting of the Spain that George Borrow encountered, a land of internal divisions and not well known north of the Pyrenees but vivid in Spain.

⁴ In 1833 King Fernando VII passed away and was succeeded by his daughter Isabel, aged two. Her mother, Queen María Cristina became the Queen Regent. In the beginning of her Regency, Queen María Cristina tried to maintain her prerogatives of absolute power against Liberalism. However, the necessity to gain support from the liberals to defend her daughter rights to the crown, forced the Regent to open up the political system, giving way to a liberal political system. After agreeing with moderate liberals on amount of reforms that were not questioning absolutist fundamentals, the 1834 *Estatuto Real* refused the Parliament legislative initiative and the right to call the Parliament was regarded as a Royal mandate. The promised reforms never took place. From 1835 summer on, different revolts took place and, finally, after the 1836 La Granja mutiny, the break up between absolutists and liberals increased speed. Thus, the 1837 Constitution came out as a liberal reformer one, aiming to dismantle for good the socio-economic structure of the Ancient Régime with the suppression of the 'señoríos' and 'diezmo' levy, and, also the sale of the land owned by the Roman Catholic Church. However, it avoided the proposals by radical liberals allowing the Crown and the Parliament to share the legislative initiative. The Crown gained more power.

⁵ Goytisolo, 2002, p. 76.

Sent off to Spain by the Quaker *British and Foreign Bible Society*, after having arrived in Lisbon and travelled for a short time around Portugal. In 1835 George Borrow entered Spain from Badajoz. He travelled around Spain carrying a pile of Bibles in his suitcase, those Borrow was meant to distribute all over Spain. With that Quaker aim in mind, Borrow established himself in a *despacho* in Madrid. Thus, this *despacho* headquarters provided him with the chance to deal with the authority at the time and his journey and his mission went on until 1839. After having travelled through most of the North and Centre of the Peninsula, in 1838, as he states in his book, he arrived in the Basque Country, as named in the book. Along the book, after recounting various experiences travelling all over Spain, the reader distinguishes how, in what is a feature of this book, Borrow gives an account of the various his experiences in various Spanish cities and towns. Overall, the reader perceives how Borrow combines descriptions of both the landscape and the *paisanaje* or human landscape he was encountering while travelling along the Peninsula. In spite of this, chapter XXXVII, which is entirely dedicated to a general section of the Basque speaking area within Spain, differs from the previous ones, as it will be discussed on this essay. As a result, this noteworthy chapter is divided into different broad sections illustrating how these which were some of his main interests about this northern corner in Spain: *Euscarra*; *Basque not Irish*; *Sanskrit and Tartar Dialects*; *A Vowel Language*; *Popular Poetry*; *The Basques*; *Their Persons and Basque Women*. These broad topics and areas are dealt in this chapter, allowing Borrow to give evidence of some of his knowledge about this area, just concentrating on linguistics aspects about the Basques, as pointed by Shimomiya⁶. However, Borrow left aside any detailed information about his journey along these lands, leaving for the very end of the chapter the depiction and representation of these Basques, a depicted picturesque *paisanaje*.

As pointed by Soler *The Bible in Spain*, in his preface to the 2001 translation into Spanish, illustrates how for most British citizens that along the eighteenth and the nineteenth century spent some time getting to know mainland Europe as part of their education, the European cultural and political elite regarded Spain as territory with little interest for travellers, in the European periphery. Furthermore,

⁶ Shimomiya, 1980.

this was the case not just because it was not comfortable to travel around due to a deficient road and transportation system other than, above all, the official intolerance towards any form of unorthodoxy, Protestantism or any non Roman Catholic faith, devotion or believe remained as the least attractive side. As a result, these realities about Spain spread around Europe the picture of a non-civilized part of the continent which did not helped to provoke a given amount of interest for that elite previously mentioned.

As a result, due to that combination of facts and encounters experienced by Borrow, *The Bible in Spain* emerges as a genuinely interesting account of George Borrow's impressions and experiences in Portugal and Spain where, as noted by Azaña, it strikes how «su procedimiento consiste en dejar hablar a los que le tratan, para pintar el efecto que su persona y sus hechos causan en el ánimo del prójimo; asomándonos a ese espejo»⁷, the mirror of the Spain of that thorny period. Besides, as underlined in an essay by Juan Goytisolo, we will never be grateful enough to the effort accomplished by Don Marcellino Menéndez Pelayo in his book *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1880-1882) and his sincere «pasión polémica y curiosidad insaciable debe el conocimiento de bastantes autores *non sanctos* que sin él habrían permanecido quizás enterrados por lustros en el panteón que se suele meter en España todo lo innovador y profundo»⁸. Despite a given amount of misconceptions or misreading of George Borrow's relation, his account emerges as a mirror of the Spain that Menéndez Pelayo intends to preserve, the premodern one.

At the time in Spain, despite the three civil wars between carlists and liberals⁹, the role of the Roman Catholic Church was a monolithic one as stated by Goytisolo, «el rechazo con que topó Borrow en el cumplimiento de su misión, común a carlistas y a cristinos, a católicos y liberales es sumamente revelador»¹⁰ and were a common ground among the different various political tendencies, indicating

⁷ Azaña, 1970, p. 21.

⁸ Goytisolo, 2005, p. 518.

⁹ In the ideological and philosophical battlefield of these wars, liberals and carlists fought over tradition modernity and tradition, nevertheless this was also a dispute about centre and periphery. As Borrow stresses in the Preface (1843) to his book, states that the Basques «cared nothing for Carlos or Rome, and merely took up arms to defend certain rights and privileges of their own».

¹⁰ Goytisolo, 2005, p. 62.

how, at the time, the premodern foundations of Spain remained pretty solid. In addition, an example of that was the concise attention received by George Borrow's in *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo¹¹. After underlying what he reckons as the religious tolerance that dominated Spain at the time of Borrow's visit, Menéndez Pelayo identifies Borrow as 'the emissary' and continues by «personaje estrafalario y de pocas letras, tan sencillo, crédulo y candoroso como los que salen con la escala a recibir a los Santos Reyes»¹². Along these lines, the opinion of Menéndez Pelayo about Borrow is fairly clear and moves on to give a concise account of Borrow's journey around Spain, aiming to underline both on Borrow's lack of perception of the reality of the country and on how the Spaniards he got in touch with illustrated Borrow's ignorance about the country Borrow was visiting. Quite the opposite, in the *Nota preliminar* to his 1921 translation of *The Bible in Spain*, Manuel Azaña stresses a dissimilar perspective on Borrow's picture of the Spain Borrow visited and wrote about:

Borrow se colocó, o colocó a su héroe, en un escenario [...] de tal fuerza que, para nuestro gusto, el aventurero se borra, se disuelve en el paisaje o queda a la zaga de la muchedumbre española que suscita. Es difícil encontrar otro caso en que un escritor haya triunfado con más brillantez de la hostil realidad presente, la asedia, poco a poco la domina, y con la lentitud peculiar de su procedimiento acaba por poner en pie a una España rebosante de vida¹³.

In consequence, the role of the writer comes into view as a definitive feature of the book as underlined by Azaña, when it merges with the people he meets along the country, his reflections of the human landscape, his genuine interest on social reality and some of the difficulties experienced by Borrow during his time over. However, these generic features of the book are not fully shared the chap-

¹¹ One also needs to bear in mind that at the time Menéndez Pelayo's history was published; Borrow's account had not been translated into Spanish. Thus, the lines where Menéndez Pelayo comments on Borrow's book, a section in chapter two, in the second volume, under the general unmistakable headline of «Esfuerzos de la propaganda protestante durante el reinado de Doña Isabel II. [...] Otros casos de heterodoxia sectaria», shares his observations on Borrow constitute not a cloudy illustration of the picture those European elites had about Spain.

¹² Menéndez Pelayo, 1967, p. 887.

¹³ Azaña, 1970, pp. 21-22.

ter we are commenting on, where «el movimiento de ciertos cuadros, propios de un ‘episodio nacional’»¹⁴. Not far from that perspective arises Mencher’s observation of the book as a report which develops into a drama because of the central position taken up by a *persona* of its author¹⁵.

As a matter of fact, the distinctive *persona* arises in chapter XXXVII when Borrow deals with the same sort of topics from a rather analytical perspective, going beyond Azaña’s *episodio nacional*. Hence, it strikes how Borrow composed this chapter from a rather different perspective, but giving evidence of Borrow’s actual interests. Subsequently, the fact is that, in most of the chapters the reader witnesses Borrow travelling around and, all the way through, giving an description of some of the places he stops at, the different arrangements during his trip or the people he has to deal with, as stressed by Azaña. The factual information allows the reader to follow the narrator’s steps, but, on the contrary, Borrow, by only mentioning he entered the year 1838, «perhaps the most eventful of all those which I passed in Spain»¹⁶, he takes the reader into the Basque Country. He does not clearly state whether he was in the Basque Country or not, since he refers to how he entered the year 1838, but not mention to the space in provided. In addition, it strikes how along this chapter Borrow only happens to refer indirectly to the names of two actual places, Donostian¹⁷ and Tolosa. In this manner, it comes to mind how in his trip there is no other single mention to any other town or village or countryside in the Basque Country. As well, there is no definition of the territories that are part of this region, just the accidental reference to these two places. Hence, it strikes how, as underlined by Azaña, in order to approach the reader to a mirror where a given situation and the people involved in it, the procedure used by Borrow was to give a voice to those characters. Furthermore, as a matter of fact, this area is not approached like since the discussion focuses on the earlier mentioned subjects related to the Basques. No voice is giving to any character and, thus, the *persona* takes over the narration of this chapter. This dissimilar standpoint

¹⁴ Azaña, 1970, p. 22.

¹⁵ Mencher, 1998, p. 539.

¹⁶ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 336.

¹⁷ Donostia is Sant Sebastian in Basque. In the book this is written in the locative case in Basque.

illustrates Borrow's interest on languages and peoples. Towards the end of the chapter Borrow deals with some characters and dedicates most of the chapter to more linguistic aspects of this part of the Peninsula, but in a rather general way and not as in the earlier mentioned mirror, but another mirror. Actually, Borrow justifies this chapter by saying how «to avail myself of the present opportunity to say a few words concerning the language in which it was written [the translation of St Luke's Gospel into Basque], and the people for whom it was intended»¹⁸.

As a result, Borrow concentrated on a further discussion on some linguistic aspects and sides of Basque language, the central ones to the distinctiveness of this tongue in Western Europe. So, he starts off the chapter by aiming to point out «a few words concerning the language in which it was written, and the people for whom it was intended»¹⁹ and, as well, indicating how the Gospel of St Luke had been translated into Basque²⁰. These few words led his discussion on the «Euscarra languages [...] Euscarra is the proper term for a certain speech or language»²¹. This certain speech, without doubt, interested him discussion that follows proves the latter. It is worth noticing how Borrow describes Basque as languages, in plural, indicating Borrow's awareness of the dialectal differences in Basque. The statement guides Borrow, in an open attempt, to throw light on, with the various theories regarding the origin and/or relation of Basque with other tongues of the world, to discuss these leaving clear that he just plainly wishes to «say a few words concerning the language in which it was written [the translation of the St Luke's Gospel], and the people for whom it was intended»²². Therefore, he is adopting a different approach by concentrating on linguistic matters and not on he encounters along the place, but on what he was aware before entering this region.

¹⁸ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 336.

¹⁹ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 336.

²⁰ As Urquijo notes: «*Evangelioa San Lucasen. Guissan-El Evangelio según San Lucas, traducido al bascuence. Madrid: Imprenta de la Compañía Tipográfica, 1838*, versión debida al médico Oteiza, cuya personalidad no creo se haya identificado hasta ahora».

²¹ As well as, by spelling Basque or Euskara as 'euscarra', with double r, it seems slightly unfortunate since in all Basque dialects this word is spelled with a single 'r'.

²² Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 336.

However in regards to Basque language, Borrow calls attention to how many vague, misguided and hypothetical statements had been made at that time, most of them aiming to throw some light at the unsolved question of the origin of this language. Nevertheless, after that, he continues on by regarding Basques as «very ignorant people» since they regard their own tongue «not only the original language of Spain, but also of the world»²³. Despite the fact that the first element of his statement will be commented further on, the linguistic perspective is a core element in this chapter. Thus, the title of this section in the chapter is 'Basque not Irish', by opposing Basque to Irish, Borrow goes on by presenting Basque as the language spoken on both sides of the Western Pyrenees and not considering the possible connection between Basque and Irish. The reality is that Borrow comments on the various connections established at the time between Basque and other languages when the linguistic analytic trend was linguistic comparisons. Therefore, in this case, Borrow comes into sight as a critical person with the popularity of the theory that related Basque and Irish. By underlining that, he continues stating how there is no resemblance between the two since, as he logically underlines, Irish is an Indo-European language, not an irrelevant feature of the Irish language and, furthermore, a noteworthy remark by Borrow.

The chapter carries on by emphasizing and exploring universal connections between Western and Eastern languages in Europe and Asia. Thus, this leads Borrow to consider that there must be some type relation or connection between languages and «*partially* Basque»²⁴. This standpoint comes up as a ground to be explored and where to it could be possible to establish a linkage between these languages. Even if by the fact that he is modifying Basque with that adverb, *partially* he says, Borrow is already denoting a given difference even if from Chomskyan point of view there is a universal common ground for languages. Common and different aspects of a language may be equally relevant. In addition, even though, before starting to compare words in both Basque and in Sanskrit, Borrow asserts, in a sharp-witted statement, how «it is less difficult to say

²³ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 337.

²⁴ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 338. In the original, this is written in italics.

what is not, than what it is»²⁵. This assertion underlies the complexity of dealing with the origin of Basque language, focusing on describing what is it than where it comes from. However, this does not stop Borrow from an attempt to unearth some connections with other languages. As a result, by drawing a parallelism between some Basque and Sanskrit words, Borrow tried to establish a lexical connection between these two languages. However, any lexical connection between Basque and the geographically closest Indo-European tongue in contact to Basque, Latin and romance languages, remained aside.

This lexical comparison and parallelism between some Basque and Sanskrit words in juxtaposition, allowed Borrow to classify Basque as a 'vowel language' since he believes Basque dropped the initial consonant. In the analysis, there is no mention to any other relevant structural features of Basque language. Nevertheless, Borrow defines Basque as almost a vowel based language, being a feature of the language. Even if the listed eleven words were of Sanskrit origin are being reproduced, this just would prove nothing more than a lexical relation between these two languages. Besides, it is also not too successful since one of the listed words, *Erreguiña* (as spelled in the book), is a Latin loan in Basque language.

After pointing out how Borrow became acquaintance with Basque language before his stay in Spain and with the Basques; Borrow stresses how he was acquainted with some Basques while travelling along Spain. Thus, although he puts the accent on that exchange, he considers essential, in order to speak properly Basque language, to live among the Basques to master their language. As a result, by saying that, it seems unambiguous that his knowledge of Basque was limited and, as well, that it seemed fairly pointless to gain a further knowledge of that tongue. Therefore, he resumes by justifying the «few inducements to learn this language»²⁶ since one can get by in either French or Spanish and, given that, according to Borrow, «neither dialect is in possession of any peculiar literature capable of repaying the toil of the student»²⁷. Not even popular poetry seems to interest Borrow and he regards the poets writing in Basque as

²⁵ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 338.

²⁶ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 340.

²⁷ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 341.

«with the slightest pretensions to reputation»²⁸. As well, as stated by Julio de Urquijo, Borrow chose a minor representative of Basque poetry as d'Iharce de Bidassouet'. Borrow was not able to illustrate a good understanding of the Basque tradition that combined poetry and singing, since at the eyes of Borrow Basques are a singing people.

In order to draw a conclusion, Borrow quotes Iharce to explain that the name Basque derives from the name Romans gave them or *Cantrabri* or *Kantor-ber*, meaning for Borrow 'sweet singers'. This appears to be another assumption that allows Borrow to connect the reader, by the sound of some wild thrilling marches, with the Basques and, along, bring to mind the fights they used to have with the Romans and, afterwards, with the Moorish in the Peninsula. Whilst listening to the marches one can imagine, he recalls, those epic fights and, nevertheless, allowing Borrow to underscore, without mentioning the value of the music, the words since «nothing can be imagined more stupid, commonplace, and uninteresting»²⁹. Borrow leaves it fairly clear.

After stating this, towards the very end of this chapter, Borrow moves on to actually depict the Basques. Furthermore, as Azaña underlined in his preface, Borrow's overall concern and contribution was to look at the character of the people since the writer considered that it was there, where the national features of a give community were preserved in a pure state and, in addition, by offering this way

una espléndida visión del campo, y lo sintió e interpretó de un modo enteramente moderno. Así don Jorge descubrió y pintó, en realidad, lo que quedaba de España. Arrancados los árboles, agostado el césped, arrastrada en mucha parte la tierra vegetal, asomaba la amazón de roca, con toda su fealdad y su incommovible firmeza³⁰.

Nevertheless, far from the approach to the book nor «dejando hablar a los que le tretan»³¹, once again, Borrow provides a description of the Basques concentrating on their broad-spectrum physical features that do seem not to match with his preconceptions about this community. As a result, it strikes how that voice, the mentioned

²⁸ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 341.

²⁹ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 341.

³⁰ Azaña, 1970, p. 22.

³¹ Azaña, 1970, p. 21.

tone by Azaña, remains absent along this chapter. There is not a single reference to a given character Borrow came across during his time in the Basque Country, and this directs him to describe what Borrow seems to be acquainted with by the Basques he met while travelling through Spain. After underlying how Basques are «faithful and honest, and capable of much disinterested attachment; kind and hospitable to strangers», in addition, he also considers that these are being «dull, and their capacities by no means of a high order»³². However, these remarks do seem to be associated with the Basques he met in Spain as he mentions at the very end of the chapter. But, in the first place, these two comments allow Borrow to draw a parallelism based certain social patterns. As a consequence, Borrow asserts that it comes to these patterns; Basques are a mere «variance of Tartar character»³³ since the features of these two people seem to match up at these eyes.

Following this remark, Borrow continues on by underlying the so-called 'republican pride', as he observed. This short political reference, allows us to mention how no reference is found about the intense political differences between the carlists and liberals in the premodern Basque Country. For Borrow, this republican pride was linked to the actual fact that there was no nobility among the Basques and, as well, no being was acknowledged as a superior. In addition, Borrow relates this to his own experience along Spain when obtaining servants for himself. The Basques that worked for him always treated him «more as an equal than a master, would sit in my presence and give me his advice unasked, and enter in conversation with me». He did not stop the servant since this would have left Borrow, as he states, and also «a more faithful creature I never knew»³⁴. This is one of the characteristics he praises and, furthermore, he draws a line between Basque men and women. George Borrow finds women «quick and vivacious, and in general much more talent»³⁵. Moreover, he also adds up that since the males hardly ever are found as servants in Spain, he states that women have no objection in doing so. Even if Basque women are underestimated by, he praises women's cooking skills since he regards these as the most

³² Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 341.

³³ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 341.

³⁴ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 342.

³⁵ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 342.

talented beings. However, Borrow only praises their cooking skills and fails to provide any other distinctive feature of Basque women.

To conclude, this petite picture shown towards the end of the chapter provides us with a picture of the Basques that is based on his previous impressions about the Basques, previous to his visit to this part of the Peninsula. Along the book Spain is presented as a pre-modern society, a peripheral space in Europe; no reference is found of these to features in chapter XXXVII. The fact is that in that chapter there is no actual reference of the man travelling around this region, being a noticeable characteristic of this chapter XXXVII. As pointed by Azaña, Borrow was concerned about the features preserved in popular characters. Some would question whether Borrow entered the Basque Country since no factual information is provided and others that this chapter is a clear example of Borrow's interest on other peoples, as the Gypsies or the Tartars. As well, «conviene estar prevenido para no incurrir en las descarriadas apreciaciones que acerca de este libro se han proferido en nuestro país»³⁶, is the appreciation by Azaña when he stated that is a significant one when considering the whole book. However, we believe that this does not fully apply to chapter XXXVII in *The Bible in Spain*. In addition, even if this chapter does not tie in with a 'episodio nacional' nor with Azaña's mirror, Borrow seems aware of a given lack of modesty by Basques as mentioned earlier. Since he points out, when commenting on how some Basques believe to speak the original language of the world, how Basques tend to place themselves in an epic centre of the world, seeming remark a rather precise one. At this stage, the question that rises is whether he actually spent some time over that Central Northern region in Spain or not. Since this matter it would imply a given amount of guess, it seems that the impressions reflected in Chapter XXXVII are rather based on his knowledge about the region and on the people he met while travelling through Spain. Borrow's concern was the language spoken in this region as this also defined the character of the people living there, the dissimilar and the mutual.

³⁶ Azaña, 1970, p. 22.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Álvarez Junco, José, «The Formation of Spanish Identity», *History and Memory*, 14.1/2, 2002, pp. 13-36.
- Azaña, Manuel, «Nota preliminar» [1921], *La Biblia en España*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1970, pp. 7-23.
- Borrow, George, *The Bible in Spain* [1843], London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1926.
- Goytisolo, Juan, «La Biblia en España» [1968], *España y los españoles*, Barcelona, Editorial Lumen, 2002, pp. 73-85.
- Goytisolo, Juan, *El lucernario. La pasión crítica de Manuel Azaña*, Barcelona, Ediciones Península Atalaya, 2004.
- Goytisolo, Juan, «Albricias filosóficas» [1985], *Los ensayos*, Barcelona, Ediciones Península, 2005, pp. 517-520.
- Mencher, M. B., «George Borrow», *English Studies*, 6, 1998, pp. 536-548.
- Menéndez Pelayo, Manuel, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* [1880-1882], vol. II, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1967.
- Shimomiya, Tadao, «George Borrow and Basque», *Euskalarien Nazioarteko Jardunaldiak=Encuentros internacionales de vascólogos (Lejona, Guernica, Bilbao)*, Bilbao, Euskaltzaindia, 1980, pp. 429-432.
- Soler Pascual, Emilio, «Prologo. Don Jorgito el inglés», *La Biblia en España*, Barcelona, Ediciones B, 2001, pp. 7-20.
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa, «Portugal: Tales of Being and Not Being», *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 19-20, 2011, pp. 399-443.
- Urquijo, Julio de, «Don Jorgito, y un biógrafo, Knapp», *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos*, 25, 1934, Web 3/08/2013 URL: <http://www.susa-literatura.com/emailuak/emailu078d.htm>.